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ABSTRACT

Women have been traditionally discriminated against and have been brainwashed to overlook this discrimination by the society in which we live. However, more and more women are becoming discontent with their traditional roles as wife, mother, and housekeeper, and are demanding their full and equal rights as persons. The university has an important role in developing women and men and for preparing them to meet the challenge that a changing society offers. It is therefore suggested that universities create an Institute for the Study, Redefinition and Resocialization of Women as an independent institute or interdisciplinary department in the university. The Institute would contain 2 divisions: the Division of Woman Studies and Research of Women, and the Division of Continuing Education. Such an institute would provide women with the opportunity to learn the necessary skills to participate in a more representative way in decisionmaking whether in government or in community or business. (HS)

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WOMEN'S STUDIES

a program for

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

HE 003 239

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INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY
REDEFINITION AND RESOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN

by

Elizabeth Farians Ph.D.

A PROGRAM FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

New Feminist Bookstore

Chicago

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INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY, REDEFINITION AND RESOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A Social Question. One of the areas of life most affected by the rapid change in the post industrial world is the role of woman. The result has provoked many social questions and threatens to make obsolete many social structures. We have yet to realize how deep-seated are some of the questions and we have yet to fully grasp the total meaning of the changes for the future.[1]

The problem will not go away. The demand for the liberation of women is spreading like wild-fire; its movement is world-wide.[2] The movement is serious and can no longer be dismissed as a joke.[3] Society must begin to cope with this problem and utilize its promise for the improvement of humanity.

Change in the role of women is part of a wide-scale quest for freedom and a growing consciousness of personal identity. It is part of the movement for liberation of all people and of the advance toward human dignity, social justice and civil rights.[4] Men as well as women are involved. It is a gut-level issue: what it means to be a woman, what it means to be a man, the man-woman relationship; what it means to be a person is at stake.[5]

Women are beginning to see their situation in a social context rather than at an individual level. As they struggle for self-determination, the central core of the feminist movement,[6] they are becoming increasingly aware of their caste-like status and they are fast mobilizing around this exploding issue.[7] The frustration is mounting as women discover the rigidity of the

stereotyped ideas which restrict them. Impatience grows as women realize along with many other oppressed groups that change can occur. In fact the impatience feeds the frustration and boarders on a smouldering rage which could easily erupt into violence.[8]

Violence would not be new to the feminist movement. Quoting from a London newspaper, Norman Carter writes:

> "A band of women set out on such a window-breaking campaign in the principal streets of the West End as London has ever known. For a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes nothing could be heard in the Strand, Cocksour Street, Downing Street, Whitehall, Picadilly, Bow Street or Oxford Street but the falling, shattered glass...The attack began practically simultaneously. It was one of the busiest periods of the day. Suddenly women, who a moment before had appeared to be on peaceful shopping expeditions, produced from bags or muffs, hammers, stones and sticks..."[9]

The movement also has had its martyr[10] and even witchcraft can be seen as a kind of violent escape from an extremely oppressive social system sustained by men.[11] Perhaps large scale violence can be avoided by setting up programs to deal with the problem but the avoidance of violence cannot be the main objective of a serious program for liberation.

A true program must attempt to get at the roots of the problem, to research for sound solutions which will benefit the total society and to work out implementation. The problem, predicted by Presidential Adviser Daniel Moynihan to be the big issue of the Seventies,[12] centers around the nature and role of women in modern society: why is the role changing, the implications of such change, analysis of adamant resistence to change (by both men and women), analysis of increasing agitation for change and the question basic to all the rest: Is there an immutable "nature" distinctive to woman.[13]

Woman is coming of age in a society which is ambivalent about her status as person. This was reiterated at a conference in Pittsburgh:

> "During an all-day symposium recently on the influence of the double standard on the expectation for mental health in women speakers attributed women's frustrated aspirations in part to the Freudian-trained experts inability to recognize women as people."[14]

She has not been seen as an individual in her own right, but instead has been seen as a relative being. The definition of woman has been based on her relative status as wife and mother. Because her identity is classified exclusively on something extrinsic, it results in a dignity which is tenuous, dependent and restrictive.

A Technological Boon. Besides social awakening technology is an underlying condition which has made possible a massive movement toward freedom. The technical progress which has resulted in an increased life span, birth control, an almost unlimited capacity for production and labor saving devices which free mankind from the tyranny of brute physical strength have been a boon to women.

The increased life expectancy for humanity has resulted in a drastic change in the life style of women. According to the Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor the life expectancy of women in the 1900's was only forty-eight years. By 1920, a girl baby's life expectancy had jumped to fifty-five years and in 1964 it had risen to seventy-four years. Now by the time her youngest child is in school, a mother may have thirty or thirty-five years more of adult life before her.[15] The consequences could be far reaching.

Many occupations can be opened to women because the need for physical strength has been replaced by machines. This is already occurring. To give

an extreme example: women can even be used in war as the fighting job becomes more mechanized.

The man-woman relationship will also be affected when it is accepted that the protection of the female by the male is not one of the primary characteristics of manhood. When women become physically emancipated they will be better able to protect themselves. They will learn self-defense. And this will no doubt lessen the attacks on women. Men will learn that women will not be easy victims.

In a society no longer dependent for survival on physical strength and constant reproduction certain basic assumptions left over from a past age about women no longer suffice. Leaders of the early feminists understood this[16] but the movement as a whole was not able to deal with the basic question of the definition of woman. Rather the more conservative view of political power as a panacea for women's problems became the desire and demand of the masses of women involved in the struggle. The time was not ripe for the deeper question of the nature of woman but this is the question of the second wave of feminists in what can be seen as an unfinished revolution. The fundamental role of women is changing but not without confusion, hardship and strife.

The Difficulties of Change. One of the major problems with the changing status of women is the resistence of some women to role change. Perhaps it is because their dignity is so tenuous as wife and mother that many women cling to this role so tenaciously. Not fully understanding that the role they embrace is based solely on function, women are often their own worst enemies in the struggle for liberation. In opposing wider freedom for women, these women point to the dignity woman has achieved through

motherhood. They are thankful for the tradition that raised them from the plaything of men to a level of honor and respect as mother.[17] A long history of slavery and subjection has taught women to value whatever status they could get. They are somehow vaguely aware of the thin line that lies between this respect and being brutalized by man. Women who are poor probably understand this more in reality rather than through dim theory.[18]

One cannot say that all these women are content with the way things are, that they are happy to be always second to man. It may be closer to the truth to say that they are afraid to disturb their fragile hold on dignity or that they cannot face up to what would now seem like a life-style based on a less than adequate foundation. It becomes clear, therefore, that these women cannot be used as examples to bolster the theory that restricting women to the role of wife and mother is right and proper because so many women seem to want it that way. It also becomes clear that ways must be found to help these women adjust to a fuller base for their life.

Men, especially the American male, sometimes resent the claim that women suffer injustice. Often these men believe in the "feminine mystique" and think women are happiest in their natural "place" (children, kitchen, church). Often, too, men are threatened by female emancipation. They misunderstand personhood and think the liberated woman is an encroachment on their masculinity.[19] And then there are men who like their position of privilege (some even claim it is their's by divine order) and they are not about to give it up. As women become more aware of this in men, women realize that militancy is necessary in demanding justice.

In defending these positions men sometimes claim that women are dominent in American society. Men claim women run the family and control the money.

It may be true that women have money in their name but the money is not in their control. Everyone knows that this system is really a tax dodge. Women may also have gained some control in the private sector of family decisions. But this is often because men have abdicated interest and responsibility in this area. The extreme division of labor of the suburbs, keeping men away from their families for most of the day, has resulted in the woman taking over the family by default.

Perhaps the most important objection men raise is in the area of responsibility. Feminists say women want responsibility but some women, perhaps even most women at this time, are not willing to assume their fair share of responsibility. Some women want to have their cake and eat it too. If women are to become adults, if they are to assume personhood, they will have to be helped to give up their dependent ways and reach out for maturity.

All of this is not to put down the women who are happy the way things are. Some women find joy and satisfaction in being wife and mother. The role is important and should be so regarded by society. Adequate training should be required and proper remuneration given, but this cannot be done in a society which pressures all women to assume this role. It is a myth to say that every woman can be satisfied or can perform adequately in this role. Anatomy is not destiny. Women must be able to choose the role of mother and career or mother or career. It is only then that the role of mother will be respected on more than just Mother's Day.[20]

It might be interesting to note that the philosophy of the "feminine mystique",[21] that theory that women are "equal but different", fulfilled by some mysterious qualities developed by feminine functions, probably originated

in an attempt to tighten the flimsy hold women had on their dignity. Perhaps to keep them satisfied with their role, the "womanly virtues" developed as survival techniques by women, began to be extolled, or at least tolerated.

It is also important to point out that the "equal but different" philosophy tends to undermine any argument for an improvement in the status of women based on justice. Moral indignation cannot be aroused nor public pressure brought to bear because women are "different". Justice cannot be called to question because "equal" cannot be measured in terms of "difference". The resultant blindness and apathy developed in the general public and in judicators only heighten the frustration in those women who must bear the burden of discrimination that seems so blatant and obvious to them.

To put women on a pedestal built of qualities falsely glorified by society creates confusion and self-doubt in women as they inevitably see through the hypocracy. That men do not honor these qualities in themselves gives the lie to the theory that these qualities are truly good. Thus it happens that women really hate themselves and men play at a polite but artificial respect for women while most of the time subjecting them to a cruel ridicule.

The Socialization of Women. Women are formed by the stereotypes as they become what they are expected to become. They are encouraged to be passive and dependent, qualities which trap them in a behavioral pattern difficult to change. This is the problem faced by most oppressed groups and is largely responsible for holding oppressed people down. Its effect has finally been recognized regarding other minorities but it has yet to be admitted regarding the "fifty-one percent minority".

In The Church And The Second Sex Mary Daly discusses this phenomenon:

"Why is it so difficult to get those who should see through the euphenisms to do so? ...Evidentally a psychological mechanism is operative. The mechanism is not peculiar to women; it is common to those who belong to an oppressed class...Help in understanding how this mechanism is developed comes from the psychoanalytic theory of repression and projection. Since certain feelings are not permitted by society to have expression, these are often projected to other persons or to whole groups. Thus the Jews in Germany and Negroes in the United States and South Africa serve as receptacles for the repressed problems of the majority in those societies. This, of course, requires a corresponding mechanism, which Freud called 'introjection' by which the inferior accepts the role impressed upon him...As Genet (in Sarte) became the 'thief' which the villagers wanted him to be, so a Negro child becomes the 'lazy nigger' which the White citizen wants him to be. So, too, do girls accept a limiting and stunting role for themselves in a society which expects this of them. Since they do in fact become inferior in just the way society desires, the prejudice is reinforced."[22]

The role socialization of women begins at birth. From the crib bedecked with pink ribbons to the primer showing Dick and Jane leaving for school and waving goodbye to an aproned mother to the sweet sixteen American escapade the girl is shown her place in society. In the college classroom on Freud she is given "scientific" reasons to re-inforce the socialization. Modern advertising provides the finishing touches. By deftly preying on the subconscious insecurities of women in their role the mass media holds up a super-feminine model. Bodily attraction to the male is portrayed as women's glory and in a society where the status of women is dependent on her relation to men this is not far from correct. Mary Wallstonecraft pointed this out in 1795:

"Men in their youth, are prepared for professions, and marriage is not considered as the grand future in their lives; whilst women on the contrary, have no other scheme to sharpen their faculties...To rise in the world and have the liberty of running from pleasure to pleasure, they must marry advantageously, and to this object their time is sacrified and their person often legally prostituted."[23]

Nightly on the TV screen women are shown how to be feminine. They should avoid body odor and grey hair. They should put on alluring eyes and soft hands. They should "lift and separate" their breasts. No part of the body is left without its "especially feminine" product as women are helped to assuage their role anxiety through consumerism.[24]

The Barriers Women Face. The results of this process are devastating. Women are held down by psychological barriers, law, social sanctions and employment practices which are either unjust or, at least, restrictive and non-supportive. Women then become like a great reservoir of wasted talents and unused resources.

First of all women find themselves in a conflict situation which tends to drain their emotional energy and often forces them to constantly prove themselves or actually be better than their male counterpart in order to be taken seriously. Two recent studies can serve as examples: In Psychology Today, Martina Horner says:

> "Consciously or unconsciously the girl equated intellectual achievement with loss of femininity. A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In achievement-oriented situations she worries not only about failure but also about success."[25]

And in a study on the prejudice of women toward other women Philip Goldberg concludes:

> "Women, at least these young college women, are prejudiced against female professionals and, regardless of the actual accomplishments of these professionals, will firmly refuse to recognize them as the equals of their male colleagues."[26]

An unusual feminine phenomenon is the drop-out who aspires to the "Ph.T." degree. Women often leave school upon marriage in order to "put hubby through", i.e., to support their husbands while the husbands go to graduate school. One has only to glance at graduate catalogues to find

many schools mentioning as an attraction the availability of jobs for wives.[27] But the romantic idealism which sometimes gives rise to this phenomenon often turns into bitter irony when for one reason or another the wife has to support herself on her own later. She finds her Ph.T. degree useless and the job she can get of low interest and low pay. Or even if she does not have to support herself she may find an intellectual distance growing between herself and her husband. She may feel left out as his horizons grow and hers narrow down to the world of children and typewriters.

Some women find themselves in another type conflict situation, torn between success in a career and motherhood in a society where motherhood is expected and career is suspected. Some of the practical problems faced by women who try to do both are that schedules and demands in jobs make no consideration for pregnancy and child rearing. The lack of child care centers is notorious. Also most of the housework falls to the woman who then has a very long day. Some women, perhaps sensing the difficulties, make marriage their total goal with the loss to society of many of their talents. Their energy is often turned to housework as they strive for "whiter than white" laundry and "see yourself" china. As Alice Rossi points out, for the first time in history, motherhood has become a full-time occupation.[28]

Other women choose to forgo marriage and set out for achievement in a career. These women often face hostility from various segments of society. Thus either society loses the talents of many of its members or women have to break through many psychological barriers in order to succeed. The difficulties are great. Writing on the subject of women geniuses, Marra Komarowsky says:

"But the environment that counts is not merely the external one of favorable laws and opportunities. It is the inner environment, the self-image and the level of aspirations, which is at the root of motivation. This self-image, subtly molded by society, has been, and still is, inimical to the full development of whatever creativity women possess.

Creation of a high order requires a fierce concentration. A man need not have always paid for it by the sacrifice of other goals normally desired such as love or marriage. But even when supreme sacrifices were entailed, the men making them need not have suffered the added penalty of corroding self-doubt. Any woman who was prepared to make such sacrifices was condemned as a 'freak' and, being a child of her society, inevitably suspected that the verdict was just. Self-doubt at this sensitive core of one's being, apart from external handicaps, tended to block creativity in women."[29]

Besides the psychological barriers women face caused by their wife and mother only role, there also results overt restrictions on women either by laws whose intent is to restrict women (even when in the guise of protection) or because this or that law is unequally applied to men and women. Many of these laws have been a real source of irritation to women and women are beginning to fight back both in the streets[30] and in the courts [31] against laws which discriminate against and humiliate them. In other cases the frustration mounts as when women have tried in vein for over two years to get the help-wanted ads of newspapers "de-sexagated" in compliance with the guidelines of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission regarding the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII. The ads are no longer classified on the basis of color but the law is not being enforced regarding discrimination based on sex.[32]

When law is unequally applied women usually wind up on the very short end of the deal. The Government Executive labels the labor practices in the United States in both the public and private sector a "disgrace" and "national scandal".[33] Consider some of the statistics on which such a judgment is based.

Forty percent of the women who work work because they must and nearly forty percent of all working-age women work. Women earn only fifty-eight percent of what men earn. Eighty-nine percent of the women who work earn less than five thousand dollars per year. Ten percent of the women who work are heads of households and fifty percent of these earn less than the poverty wage of three thousand dollars per year. At the other end of the scale only three and three tenths percent of working women earn over ten thousand dollars per year compared to twenty-four and three tenths percent of men. A woman with a B.A. degree can expect to earn what a man with only a high school diploma does. A woman with a Ph.D. degree earns about the same as a man having a B.A.[34] In 1966 the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimated that of all adults over sixteen years of age six and nine tenths million men live in poverty while eleven and two tenths million women live in poverty.[35]

Besides, women are clustered in three or four of the service oriented professions, considered to be extensions of their "natural" role of wife and mother. For example, only one percent of the nation's engineers are women, three percent of its lawyers, seven percent of its doctors. Nearly one-fifth of employed women with the B.A. degree have jobs in such categories as clerk, factory worker, and cook. Women hold only one fourth of the faculty positions in colleges and universities and only a little over twelve and one-half percent of the Ph.D.'s are women.[36] Relatively few women are found in executive positions; they seldom attain the higher levels of academic rank and seldom get tenure in the "better" universities. Recent studies support these statements.[37]

The anger of women is being fed as they discover the lack of opportunity

when they try to get a job, enter a new field or obtain promotion. Often a male is preferred; a woman with executive talent is given a secretarial test and expected to type her way to success,[38] and many fields are still closed to women,[39] or meet with just as much opposition as did similar openings a hundred years ago.[40] Scholarships and fellowships are not as plentiful for women as for men and women often find it more difficult to get into college than a male does.[41] Often, too, women find themselves in a situation where various fringe benefits are denied them.[42]

The connections between black women and poverty are shocking and it is becoming evident that the problem is not so much that these women are black but rather that they are female. Black women are the lowest paid group in the nation. Black men earn more than white women. Medium income for a black family headed by a women is three thousand two hundred seventy dollars which is less than half the income for black families headed by a man. In the black community in the two thousand dollar per year income range three out of five families are headed by a woman.

Sylvin Porter concludes from the figures that there is a connection between the matriarchal society and the Negro broken home and that this is linked directly to the problem of poverty. "But", she says, "Negro homes aren't being broken because the woman is becoming a star in the labor force. Far from it."[43] Shirley Chisholm adds emphasis: "As a black person, I am no stranger to race prejudice. But the truth is that in the political world I have been far oftener discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black."[44]

Women are oppressed in many other ways. For example, women exhibit the behavioral characteristics of minority groups. Helen Mayer Hacker has

clearly shown the parallels in a study in Social Forces, flattery, "feminine wiles", downward glances, etc.[45] Some of these characteristics are very disagreeable. A talented women often finds herself in a difficult situation; whether in marriage or a job she must be subservient to men who are less gifted than she. This is frustrating and it affects her personality.

Women are becoming increasingly vocal about what they consider to be medical oppression.[46] Even when they wanted it women have been denied easy access to birth control information. Now women are claiming that men have cared little about the welfare of women in putting the "pill" on the market.[47] Women are also displeased with child bearing methods imposed on them by male physicians and the oppression of women through abortion laws is notorious.[48]

Women have almost no role in politics. They hold very few offices at any level of government. For centuries they have been denied legal rights and have been regarded as the property of men. In a study on women and the law, Leo Kanowitz concludes that in sexual matters "the law regards women as objects of scorn, distrust and aversion.[49]

They have existed in a status of subjection and slavery similar or worse than blacks. Married women exist almost literally as appendages of their husbands. Although there have been some reforms in this area the legal status of the married woman is still close to the "civil death" decried by the early feminists. Several examples should make the problem clear. A married woman's domicile is determined by that of her husband. This can affect her voting rights, ability to incorporate a business, and even the college she chooses to attend. A husband can rape his wife without fear of legal recrimination. A married woman often has difficulty

obtaining credit or signing a contract. On the other hand, her husband can usually sign such documents unilaterally but the wife still bears an equal responsibility with him for the results of such action.

For forty-three years the women of the United States have tried to get a twenty-sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution:

> "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The chief proponent is the National Woman's Party. Alice Paul, its foundress, says: "How long will we have to wait, Mr. President?"[50] Many countries have such a provision. The United States has also failed to ratify the U. N. Declaration of Rights for Women, 1967.

The situation of women in religion is perhaps the worst of all. There has been little improvement since Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote her famous Women's Bible in 1898. Cynthia Wedel, newly elected President of the National Council of Churches, has said that the Church is probably the most male oriented and male dominated of all the institutions of society.[51] At least eighty denominations ordain women but few encourage women to take such an active role in the life of the church. The Jewish morning prayer, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the Universe that I was not born a woman" cannot go unnoticed as it is basic to much religious discrimination against women. In some religious groups women can take no official liturgical function and cannot come near to the altar and they are constantly discouraged from almost all active participation.[52] The "women equals sex equals sin" syndrome which is largely the basis for this needs to be exposed for what it is.[53]

Simone de Beauvoir was devastating in her criticism of the church as an oppressor of women. In The Second Sex she describes how religion confirmed

the social order as divinely ordained: "The passivity inforced upon women is sanctified...There is no need to do anything to save her soul; it is enough to live in obedience."[54]

Recently a report was issued by the National Council of Churches which indicated that the member churches merely give lip service to equal treatment of women professionals while in reality the discrimination is the same as in the wider society.[55]

Last year a group of women protested the head covering rule of the Roman Catholic Church by holding the "Easter Bonnet Rebellion", an event which shocked the City of Milwaukee. The event was front page news and as a result the protest leader received a deluge of seventy phone calls and forty letters, mostly critical of the action. She even received several threats to her life.[56]

This year in Detroit women caucused at the national meeting of the National Council of Churches. They issued a strong statement offering support for the movement to liberate women. They said:

> "Women are rising...to demand change, to demand humanity for ourselves as well as for others. You will be hearing from us in the Seventies. You will be hearing from us because this wholeism is basic to our concept of the nature of the church. You cannot seriously undertake the quest for meaning and wholeness called for in the 'Mission in the 70's Report' unless you are willing to deal with the role of women."[57]

Religion also reinforces the wife and mother role. The women's identification is subsumed into that of her husband. She even takes his name. Sometimes a married woman has an impression of non-existence. Andrew Lussier writes:

> "This way of thinking stems from foggy religious standards as well as a biased interpretation of the texts of St. Paul on the supposed authority of the husband over the wife. The complacent male wallows in it...Unconsciously the women then feels encouraged to

regress to the pre-genital role of possessed object. If she resists and does not give in to this regression, marital conflict inevitably follows."[58]

Analyzing misogynism in its profound interrelationship rooted in the Christian tradition Mary Daly points out the harm done to women and religion:

"From one point of view, antifeminism in Christian thought can be looked upon as a symptom...This is by no means to deny that misogynism can be and is a psychological origin of the very doctrinal disorders which, in turn, serve to perpetuate it. The cause-effect relationship is not one-way. It is more accurate to describe it as a vicious circle."[59]

The physical oppression of women in society is increasing. The form it takes reveals a relationship between men and women that leaves much to be desired. For example, physical weakness is equated with femininity while masculinity is equated with strength. As a result the male ego is bolstered up both by the physical domination of women and by the protection of women. It becomes manly "to treat 'em rough" in private while holding open the door for women in a gesture of public respect. In both cases women are oppressed and damaged physically. Their body image is one of weakness; they feel they should be weak and that they need a man to protect them. As a consequence women do not become strong. Researchers will have to tell us if even the physical size of women is affected. Some work is being done.[60] For an analysis of the body-spirit dichotomy and the resulting physical repression of women, especially the black women, see Soul on Ice.[61]

The physical oppression of women has another side. The crimes against women are a blatant expression of the pervasive attitude of men toward women. The high incidence of rape and sexual murders is an indication of the cultural oppression of women which defines women as an easy prey and in some covert way, approves of physical violence against them. A woman

without protection is like a slave without a master and is fair game for physical domination. If a women is not private property, she is public property.[62] The sex violence in the media can only be taken as a sign of this.

Women are rebelling against physical oppression. They have attacked the Miss America Beauty Context,[63] Playboy Club,[64] Bridal Fairs.[65] Some women are wearing clothes to their own liking, for comfort and simplicity. The reaction from both men and women is amazing.[66] Many of the younger, radical women have liberated themselves from clothing they consider restrictive, especially high heels, cosmetics and brassieres. The movement gained force when newspapers reported that a woman engineer was fired from her $18,000 a year job because she organized a "bra-less" Friday among co-workers.[67] High school girls are turning up in slacks, refusing to obey oppressive school dress codes.[68]

Besides, women are beginning to learn self-defense. They are fighting back. Women are saying: "We will not be leered at, smirked at, whistled at by men enjoying their private fantasies of rape and dismemberment."[69]

A Problem of Survival. The problem of the identity of women is urgent not only for women but for all of society. It may well be one of the keys to the survival of the human race. Ecologists tell us that we may not be able to sustain life through the 1970's.[70] The conditions of survival, or reproduction and production, of work and play have changed but society has not changed with them. Despite our great technical progress we are overpopulating and polluting the earth. Our wild life cannot live, our waters are dying, our food and space are becoming scarce.

Our notions on population derive from an earlier age, from a time of underpopulation and underdevelopment, a time when the high infant mortality rate made it necessary to have a high birth rate, a time when scarcity was a constant challenge to survival. Yet now knowing that population and pollution are interrelated we continue to bring into the world more children than it can support. One reason for this as Judith Blake[71] has pointed out is that society continues to define women exclusively as those who reproduce, and that as long as motherhood is the principal career for women and they are not supported in other career choices, women will not be inclined to practice birth control.

A Human Problem. The problem does not stop here. It goes even deeper and affects all of humanity. As Violet Lindbeck says in "The Other American Dilemma: Sexual Apartheid":

> "To talk solely of this (prejudice against women) as a women's problem is erroneous. Sexual prejudice has affected both men and women who have been victimized by the polarization of masculinity and femininity."[72]

An inadequate notion of masculinity has resulted, the sexes are in a state of alienation one from the other; such qualities as kindness, compassion, and sensitivity have been neglected because they have been regarded as feminine qualities and therefore considered of little value.[73] Some writers hold that our preoccupation with war may be related to sexual stereotyping[74] and some writers see connections between racism and sexism.[75]

There is also an increased questioning of the ability of our society to adjust to the changes necessary. Some are suggesting radical changes in the structure of society itself. Some question present life styles, opting for an extended family or communal living rather than the nuclear family.[76] These questions demand careful consideration.

Toward A Solution. There can be little doubt that the oppression and repression of women in society is a serious problem. Women themselves have become serious about it as Marlene Dixon exhorts in "Up From Ridicule".[77] The solution to the problem is as complex as is the problem itself.

Although the status of women has improved the progress has been slow and unstable,[78] mostly the result of heroine-like efforts by a few enlightened women dotted here and there in history "born before their time". For the most part the status of women has not been questioned by society. It has been one of the basic assumptions left unchallenged by academics and theorists. In fact, as Naomi Weisstein has demonstrated in "Woman As Nigger", usually when the male-dominated sciences have dealt with the status or nature of women, their objectivity has been overcome by their prejudice and fantasy has held sway.[79]

Recognition of the problem is beginning to occur.[80] What is needed is a broad-scale attempt to understand the problem and to seek solutions. The approach to the problem must be many sided. Private organizations, social agencies, the churches, educational institutions and government must all become heavily involved. Perhaps the institution which is best equipped to direct the process and which carries as great a responsibility as any is the university.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Preliminary Considerations. The faculties of the university must be brought to bear on this problem. The university cannot remain outside the process of social change. Its vast resources of instruction and research are needed to bring about and guide change. This is the proper role of the university and no other institution is as well equipped as the university to meet these social needs.

Rigorous thought and creative study on this issue have been lacking in the past. Now the university must focus on this question. Every analytic tool and skill will be needed to deal with the defuse and complex questions that have been raised by such deep social turmoil. An interdisciplinary approach is needed if all the necessary resources are to be mobilized and properly utilized. Therefore, an Institute for the Study, Redefinition and Resocialization of Women is proposed.

However, any program proposals should be flexible and tentative. The program proposed here is just an outline of one possible way of coping with the situation. It must be adapted and modified to suit the particular situation in which it finds itself. The program will be experimental. There are no models. Almost everything in the program will be unique.

There are, of course, advantages and disadvantages in such an approach. The program can be a ground-breaker, itself the model for others and in this way an outstanding service. Or, being new, the program can be suspect by those who are afraid of innovation. Of course, the program will make mistakes and it will be subjected to criticism, some justified, some unjustified. But with dedication, competence and support, such a program as proposed here can be successful and can begin to meet one of the greatest needs of our time.

The Program for the University. The Institute for the Study, Redefinition and Resocialization of Women would be an independent institute or interdisciplinary department in the university. It would contain two divisions: one on study, instruction and research on the problem and the other on continuing education. The Institute could be affiliated to the university in one of several ways. Models might be taken from such institutes as those on American Studies, Black Studies, etc.

1. Division of Woman Studies and Research of Women

Since study about women, their history, psychology, economic, legal and religious status, social roles and physical body-image has either been neglected or distorted in traditional study it is inperative that the university now begins to develop and promote the special academic field of women studies both through special courses of instruction and through research.

Numerous new questions about the family, sex, love, child-rearing, economics and health are being asked. Almost every discipline is involved, education: philosophy, theology, history, psychology, sociology, language, anthropology, biology, zoology, physical education, recreation, the fine arts, economics, literature, political science, chemistry, physics and the health fields. Courses and research which deal with these questions must be designed and developed. A suggested list of courses is addended.

The course offerings should be interdisciplinary and cross-referenced by their related departments. These courses would be offered by a faculty especially selected by the Institute. Most of the faculty should be women scholars noted for their interest in and activity in the women's movement.

Both the courses of instruction and the research should be action oriented and willing to consider radical social change. Again it must be stressed that the university must be a leader; it must organize the best

minds around such questions as: the liberation of women and the implication for: the nuclear family, child bearing and rearing, the economic system, men, leisure, ecology, sexuality, education. The problems women actually face should be an integral part of the program and become the basis for special study, plunge experiences, pilot projects and the like. Several examples could be listed: (a) the encouragement for the female university student to take herself seriously; (b) the problems of employed women; (c) development of adequate child care facilities; (d) development of inexpensive and new style clinics for the medical problems of women; (e) ways to raise the horizons of the young girl; (f) help for the women in poverty.

Many such activities are already under way around the country. If the university is a service oriented institution, it must involve itself in these immediate problems of women. It must also direct the future so that society can survive and progress.

To adequately cope with their situation many women will have to quickly develop many skills. As an auxiliary service the Institute should work with women's organizations to make these skills available. For example, to promote their cause women will need competency in the communication arts so workshops should be university sponsored on film-making, public speaking and debating, and on the radio and TV media. If women are to file cases of complaint on job discrimination, they will need to be taught how to do this. Women need to be taught how to apply for a job and promotion and how to avoid "dead-end" jobs, so workshops should be conducted on the employment problems of women. If women are going to get justice through the courts or if they are going to participate in a more representative way in decision making whether in government or in community or business, many women will need the opportunity to learn the

necessary skills. Again, these opportunities should be provided.

2. Division of Continuing Education

Often the education of the woman in our society is interrupted by early marriage and/or child rearing. Often, also, because our society holds out marriage as the ideal, only self-fulfilling, and permanent vocation for women, many women aspire to only lower levels of education and seldom take their education very seriously. To counteract this low educational image of women it is important that the university has a special program to encourage women to continue their education whether it provides the opportunity to complete a program already begun by the woman who dropped out because of family responsibilities, or to provide the opportunity to do graduate work or provide the opportunity to embark on a program of professional training by the woman whose children no longer need her entire time and attention.

Many colleges and universities already have a program of continuing education for women and interest in such programs is increasing. The mature woman is attracted by specialized counseling services, courses scheduled during convenient hours during the middle of the day and consideration given to her experience and previous education. Many of these programs have proved very successful and have provided the necessary incentive for increasing numbers of women to return to higher education. Besides helping these women find new and rewarding roles for themselves during the long period of their life after their children have grown, these women are proving to be an excellent source of untapped talent for business and the professions.

More women than ever before are returning to college. The adjustment for these mature women is often difficult. The usual undergraduate college

is geared to the younger student and it is not too easy for an older person to adjust.

In order to encourage the mature woman to return to college and make it possible for her to find the experience helpful and satisfying, the college must create a situation which meets the needs of the older woman. Special counseling services are needed. Introductory seminars geared to special "initiation programs" where the women can meet each other regularly, talk over mutual problems, and make friends have proved helpful on some campuses. Confidence raising sessions help some women to "ease into" the regular curriculum. Various approaches will need to be taken for various women.

Whatever the situation of the woman when she begins the program, her past education and experience should be taken into consideration. The university must learn to adjust to this new type of student by giving credit for comparable experience, previous college courses, and faculty and students must learn to "accept" them and welcome them.

Notes

1. "Man Must Act Now To Keep His Privacy" by Andrew Squibb, Jr., Cincinnati Post-Times Star, August, 1967. Report on Commission of the Year 2000 of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

2. Pakistan, The Catholic Citizen, Nov.-Dec., 1969, P. 40-41. "Punjabi Women Are Holding Demonstrations to Give Warning that if the Rights Which They Won 'After Centuries of Subjugation were Trampled by Men Once Again' They Will Not Sit Silent".

   See also: "French Women Take Up Cry of Feminine Mystique" by Lynn Sheer, Chicago Sun Times, March 12, 1970.

   See also: "The Status of Women in Sweden, 1968", one of a series called Sweden Today.

   See also: "Women Power Changing Japan" by Leon Daniel, Cincinnati Enquirer, January 25, 1970.

   See also: "We Are Not Alone" telling of women's protests in Tanzania, New Delhi, Mexico, Vancouver, B. C., Ireland, Indonesia and Montecchio, Italy, in Women: A Journal of Liberation, Winter, 1970, P. 67.

   See also: "Dutch Tweet", Chicago Daily News, February 4, 1970.

   See also: "Freedom Comes At Last to Portuguese Women" by John Carroll, Cincinnati Enquirer, January 1, 1969.

   See also: "Arab Women Venture Shyly from Shadow of Tradition" by Georgie Geyer, Chicago Daily News, October 31, 1969.

3. "Feminist Leaders Hail Gains in Liberation for An Equal Role" by Deirdie Carmody, New York Times, March 23, 1970, P. 1. A slightly cut version of the same article appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on March 29, 1970, using the lead paragraph for its headline "NOW Sees Women's Lib As Serious Revolution, Not A Joke".

   See also: "An Editorial: The Women's Movement: A Unique Revolution Demanding A Unique Ideology for Now" by Delores Alexander, NOW Acts, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter-Spring, 1969, P. 29.

   See also: "Chisholm Urges Women's Revolt", Daily Defender, February 18, 1969 (U.P.I. News Service).

4. United Nations. Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 1948. See especially the Preamble, Paragraph No. 5, and Article No. 2.

   See also: "The Rise of Women's Liberation" by Marlene Dixon, Ramparts, December, 1969, Pp. 58-63.

   See also: A Matter of Simple Justice. The Report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, April, 1970.

Notes (Continued)

5. "Women Are People" by Kathryn Clarenbach, paper delivered to the American Psychological Association, September 3, 1969, P. 10 especially.

6. Aileen Kraditor, Up From the Pedestal, P. 8, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968.

   See also: NOW Acts, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter-Spring, 1969, P. 8, picturing the picket sign: "Involve Women in Political Decision Making or No Fund Raising".

   Also consider the title of a new feminist newspaper, Off Our Backs, or the new "Coalition of American Nuns" founded to end the male domination of sisters in the Roman Catholic Church, Chicago Daily News, January 7, 1970.

   See also: Voice of Women's Liberation, October 1, 1968 (Chicago) P. 11, picturing the picket sign, "Why Should Male Clerics Rule Female Bodies?".

7. Just in the last few months this issue has appeared in every conceivable type of communication. Articles in the periodical literature as well as lectures, seminars, workshops, TV, radio etc. have been so numerous as to defy tabulation. Consider: U. S. News and World Report, September 8, 1969; Time, November 21, 1969; Newsweek (Cover Story), March 23, 1970; Radio Station, W.J.A.S. Pittsburgh (N.B.C.), eleven-hour marathon, March 12, 1970; C.B.S.-TV News with Walter Kronkite, series, March 9-14, 1970; and N.B.C.-TV News with Huntley-Brinkley, series, March 30-April 4, 1970. Besides, there are now several new women's magazines: Women: A Journal of Liberation, Aphra, and No More Fun and Games; at least two newspapers: Off Our Backs and It Ain't Me Babe; a bookstore, New Feminist Bookstore (Chicago); a reprint publisher, Know (Pittsburgh); a radio program, W.B.A.I. (New York); at least one theater group, The New Feminist's Theater in New York City, (reported on by Jean Faust in Women Speaking, October, 1969, P. 6); The Women's Heritage Series, Women's Heritage Calendar and Almanac; and several Women's Centers (Chicago, California, Florida); numerous new feminists organizations: NOW (National Organization for Women), WEAL (Women's Equity Action League), The Feminists, FEW (Federally Employed Women), WRAP (Women's Radical Action Project - Chicago), WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell), Red Stockings, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, SALT (Sisters All Learning Together), Bread and Roses, Congress to Unite Women (New York); a women's foundation, Human Rights for Women, Inc.; and women caucuses in several professional societies and their umbrella, POWER (Professional Organized Women for Equal Rights). Several journals have devoted whole issues to the subject: Motive Magazine, March-April, 1969; Adult Leadership, May, 1969; College and University Business, February, 1970. For an account of the movement in the churches, see the New York Times' Page One story of May 5, 1970, "Churches Feel Pressure of Women's-Rights Drive" and "Women's Lib On the March in the Churches" by Edward Fiske, New York Times, May 17, 1970, "This Week in Review" Section, P. 15. If proliferation of buttons are an indication, this author has over forty.

Notes (Continued)

8. "As I See It" by Richard Farson, Forbes, August 1, 1969, P. 44.

   See also: The S.C.U.M. Manifesto by Valerie Solanas, S.C.U.M. stands for: Society for Cutting Up Men.

   For a recent example see: "Women Again Invade 'For Men Only' Bar" by Joe Morang, Chicago Tribune, December 19, 1969. See also the sarcastic account of the incident by Mike Royko in the Chicago Daily News and the Carr cartoon added to it and reprinted by the Cincinnati Enquirer, January 7, 1970.

9. Norman Carter, The Age of Protest, Chapter I, 1969.

10. See the film: Women On the March, National Film Board of Canada.

11. See the review of The Witches by Francoise Mallet-Juris in Commonweal, January 16, 1970, P. 434, Brigid Elson.

    See also: Voice of Women's Liberation, #7 (Chicago), P. 3 ff.

    See also: Elsie Culver, Women in the World of Religion, N.Y.:Doubleday, 1967, Chapter 10.

12. "Rights of Women", Detroit Free Press, October 5, 1969.

    See also: "Women's Liberation: The Next Great Time In History Is Theirs" by Vivian Gormick, The Village Voice, November 27, 1969.

13. Karl Stern, Flight From Women, P. 9, New York: The Noonday Press, 1965.

    See also: "What Is A Woman?" panel discussion on the "Spectrum of Femininity" in The Potential of Woman by Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson, P. 87 ff, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

    See also: "The New Feminists" by Jo Freeman, Nation, February 24, 1969, P. 244.

14. NOW Acts, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter-Spring, 1969, P. 20, quoted from the Washington Post in an article by Elizabeth Shelton: "The Double Standard; What Is Its Influence on Expectations For Mental Health in Women?"

15. Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor quoted in a report by Margaret Dana, "Continuing Education Needed for Women To Get Equal Rights", Cincinnati Post-Times Star, September 16, 1967.

16. In Century of Struggle, Eleanor Flexnor paraphrases Margaret Fuller in her 1844 Women in the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, P. 67, 1966:

    "But to contemporary women its message was clear: Woman fulfills herself, not in relation to, and as subordinate to men, but as an individual, an independent human being. Failing to do so has made of woman 'an overgrown child'".

Notes (Continued)

17. "The Human Dignity of Women In the Church" by Elizabeth Farians, 1968, Chicago: New Feminist Bookstore.

18. Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I A Women?" Speech before the Women's Rights Convention at Akron, Ohio, 1851:

"That man over there say that a woman needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helped me into carriages, or over mud puddles, or gives me a best place... And ain't I a woman? Look at me. Look at my arm. I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man heard me... And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man when I could get it, and bear the lash as well. And ain't I a woman? I have borned thirteen children and seen them most sold off into slavery. And when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard... And ain't I a woman?"

See also: Josephine Carson, Silent Voices, New York: Delacorte Press, 1969.

See also: Caroline Maria de Jesus, Child of the Dark, New York: Signet Books, 1962.

19. Myron Breton, The American Male, New York: Coward-McCann, 1966, especially Pp. 23-24.

See also: Hendrik M. Ruitenbeck, The Male Myth, New York: Dell, 1967, Pp. 161 ff.

See also: Thayer Green, Modern Man In Search for Manhood, New York: Association Press, 1967.

20. "Freedom for Women Week: Rights Not Roses", NOW Acts, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter-Spring, 1969, P. 1.

21. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, P. 37, New York: Dell, 1963.

22. Mary Daly, The Church and The Second Sex, Pp. 125-127, New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

See also: "Case Study of A Non-Conscious Ideology: Training the Woman to Know Her Place", by S. L. Bem and D. J. Bem in D. J. Bem, Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs, 1970.

See also: The Play: "How To Make A Woman" by Stan and Bobbie Edelson of the Boston Caravan Theater.

23. Mary Wallstonecraft, The Rights of Women, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. (last reprint, 1955).

24. "Consumerism and Women" by Ellen Willis, distributed by Cell #16, Female Liberation, 16 Lexington Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Notes (Continued)

See also: "On the Temptation to Be A Beautiful Object" by Dana Densmore, No More Fun and Games, Issue 2, February, 1969, P. 43.

See also: "The Women Market" by Victoria Smith and Judy Fitzgerald, Liberation News Service.

"Bright Women - Fail" by Martina Horner, Psychology Today, November, 1969, P. 36.

"Are Women Prejudiced Against Women" by Philip Goldberg, Transaction, April, 1968.

For example see catalogs: Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1968, or the Stritch School of Medicine of Loyola University of Chicago, 19[illegible].

"Equality Between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal" by Alice Rossi, Daedelus, Spring, 1964, P. 615.

Mirra Komarovsky, Women In the Modern World, as quoted by Kathryn Clarenbach in Women Speaking, January, 1968, P. 8.

Recent incidents are too numerous to classify. A few examples: "Abortion Confrontation Stuns D.A.", NOW Newsletter (Los Angeles Chapter, National Organization for Women) Vol. 1, No. 12, March, 1970, P. 1; women took over a building last spring (1969) at the University of Chicago over the firing of a popular feminist professor; recently women took over the Ladies Home Journal offices in Manhatten, see the Time report, March 30, 1970, P. 59.

Women often find themselves in an embarrassing situation at a bar because many state or municipalities have laws or local ordinances which prohibit women from being served anything at the bar, being a bartender or sometimes even entering same unless escorted by a male. See Gallagher vs the City of Bayonne (New Jersey) No. C - 1956 - 65. In handing down his judgment Robert Matthews pointed out that contrary to what the City of Bayonne had contended that the mere presence of women at the bar might automatically result in the promotion of prostitution and lewed and other objectionable behavior, there was no evidence, nor could there by any, that such was the case.

In the area of criminal law, the case of Daniel vs Pennsylvania 210 P Super 156, 232 A, 2d 247, 255 (1968) it was decided that women could not receive a punishment of up to ten years if the punishment a man could receive for the same crime is limited to four years in prison.

Many states have laws which limit the number of hours a woman may work, the time period in which she may work or place limits on the weight she can be required to lift. Women are bringing these laws to court to claim that such laws no longer protect them, rather they are being used by some

Notes (Continued)

employers to keep women from competing for better jobs, overtime, promotions, higher wages, etc. One such case is Rosenfeld vs Southern Pacific 293 F. Supp. 1219 (C. D. Cal. 1968). The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals decided in favor of a woman employee by ruling that California's statutes relating to hours and weight lifting are unconstitutional under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

32. See the summary of the struggle waged by the National Organization for Women, NOW Acts, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter-Spring, 1969, Pp. 25-27. At first the women picketed the E.E.O.C. itself to get them to take the sex discrimination cases seriously.

33. "Women On the March Again" by Samuel Stafford, Government Executive, June, 1969.

34. U. S. Department of Labor Statistics, 1966 and 1968.

35. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Security Bulletin, March, 1968, "The Shape of Poverty in 1966".

For a report on how desperate is the plight of the poor women see: "Effect of Poverty on Culturally Disadvantaged Women" by Jane Barry, Adult Leadership, May, 1969, Pp. 9-13.

36. "The New Feminist Revolt Against Sexism", Time, November 21, 1969, P. 54.

37. W.E.A.L. (Women's Equity Action League), news release, February 6, 1970, "Sex Discrimination Charged At University of Maryland".

See also: "A Myth Is Better Than A Miss: Men Get the Edge In Academic Employment" by Lawrence Simpson, College and University Business, February, 1970, Pp. 72-73.

38. This happens so often that many women refuse to admit they can type.

See also: "Midwest Job Conference Draws Women to Consider Human Rights" by Jill Floerke, Christian Century, P. 305, March 11, 1970.

See also: Token Learning: A Study of Women's Higher Education in America, especially P. 8, New York NOW, Kate Millett, Chairman, 1968.

39. For example: astronauts, commercial jet pilots, priesthood.

See also: "I Want To Be A Deaconess", Letter to the Editor by Jeanne Barnes, National Catholic Reporter, February 8, 1970, P. 10.

Notes (Continued)

40. Consider for example the recent furor over women jockeys: News Week, December 4, 1967; Chicago Daily News, January 15, 1969, January 22, 1969, January 29, 1969, February 3, 1969 and February 7, 1969.

41. For example, in the booklet, "University of Cincinnati: 1969 Information for Prospective Students", P. 7, admission guideline appears for the University College: "Generally upper two-thirds of high school graduating class for out-of-state men, top one-third of high school graduating class for out-of-state women", or see: Sepp Report, Wesleyan Univ., 1970.

University of North Carolina, Harvard Law School mentioned in Off Our Backs, March 19, 1970, P. 14.

Texas A & M and the University of Virginia at Richmond do not admit women and it is well known that many graduate schools have a very high cut-off rate for women applicants, sometimes taking only ten percent women. Bulletin: Advisory Council on the Status of Women, March, 1970.

42. Only after some action did Loyola University of Chicago change some of its practices so that women could retire at the same age as men and so that the term "dependent" in a group health policy would be defined to include the employee's husband as well as the employee's wife.

43. "Negro Women and Poverty" by Sylvia Porter, San Francisco Chronicle, August 5, 1969, P. 48.

44. Congressional Record, May 21, 1969, E 4165.

45. "Women As A Minority Group" by Helen Mayer Hacker, Social Forces, October, 1951, P. 65.

See also: "The Arrogance of Male Power" by Dan Sullivan, Jubilee, December, 1967, P. 24.

46. Carolyn Bird, Born Female, P. 25. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1968.

See also: "March 14 Demonstration Against the A.M.A.", Newsletter of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, March, 1970.

47. "Senate Pill Probe Disrupted by Groups of Women Hecklers", Chicago Tribune, January 23, 1970.

48. Patricia Maginnis and Lana Clark Phelan, The Abortion Handbook, see especially Chapter I, North Hollywood, California: Contact Books, 1969.

See also: Lawrence Lader, Abortion, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

See also: Bernard Ransil, Abortion, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1969.

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See also: "The Catholic Church and the New Morality" by Francis Simons, Cross Currents, Fall, 1966, especially P. 438.

49. Leo Kanowitz, Women and the Law, P. 201, Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969.

See also: "Jane Crow and the Law: Sex Discrimination and Title VII", by Pauli Murry and Mary Eastwood, The George Washington Law Review, Vol. 34, November-December, 1965.

See also: "Equal Rights Amendment" by Margery Leonard (Ed.), Document No. 164, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

50. NBC-TV Huntley - Brinkley News, April 7, 1970.

51. Women's Heritage Calendar and Almanac, August, 1970

For an example of the problem, see my "Meditative Reflection", delivered as a benediction at the Chicago NOW Employment Conference, "NOW Militants Told To Start Revolution", Milwaukee Sentinel, January 26, 1970, Part I, P. 6.

52. Paragraph 66 of the Instruction of the New Roman Missal of the Roman Catholic Church states that women may be lectors providing they stand outside the presbyterium and providing no male is available. Men stand inside the presbyterium. See my comment on the preliminary statement issued by the Consilium for Implementing the (Vatican II) Constitution on the Liturgy which appeared in many papers including: The Catholic Star Herald, (Camden, New Jersey), "Women See 'Segregation' in New Liturgy Roles", February 7, 1969, P. 1.

See also: The News Release of April 19, 1970, Ecumenical Task Force On Women and Religion, National Organization for Women, "Pink and Ash".

53. Leonard Swidler, Freedom In the Church, especially P. 112, Dayton: Pflaum, '69

See also: "Sex and the Single Catholic" by Sidney Callahan, The Critic, February-March, 1968, P. 53.

See also: D. S. Bailey, The Man-Woman Relationship in Christian Thought, London: Longmans, 1959.

See also: "I Am Unclean", Chapter 4 of The Dangerous Sex by H. R. Hays, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1964.

54. Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, New York: Bantam Books, 1969, P. 590, (originally published in French in 1949).

55. Report on the Recruiting, Training and Employment of Women Professional Church Workers, Church Women United, February 26 and 27, 1969, Seabury House, Greenwich, Connecticut.

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56. "Women Use Easter Sunday to Protest Church's Rule on Covering of Heads", Catholic Herald Citizen, April 12, 1969.

"Women Fight Hat Rule", Milwaukee Journal, April 7, 1969.

"15 Women Defy Church 'Hat Law'", Milwaukee Sentinel, April 7, 1969.

The author was told about the threats by the woman involved, Mrs. Mary Ullrich.

57. "Statement of Women's Caucus", General Assembly, National Council of Churches, Detroit, December, 1969.

58. "Psychoanalysis and Moral Issues in Marital Problems" by Andrew Lussier, Cross Currents, XV, Winter, 1965, P. 59.

See also: Kristner Stendahl, The Bible and the Role of Women, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.

See also: "O Blessed Deviation" by Nancy Rambush, Commonweal, January 16, 1967, Pp. 363 ff.

59. Mary Daly, The Church and the Second Sex, New York: Harper & Row, 1968, P. 37.

See also: M. P. Ryan and J. J. Ryan, Love and Sexuality, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, Pp. 36-42.

60. "Her Wiggle Is All Attitude" by Arthur Snider, Chicago Daily News, 1969, Sept. 30.

See also: "Women Take Big Step Toward Equality" by Arthur Snider, Chicago Daily News, August 18, 1969.

61. Elridge Cleaver, Soul On Ice, New York: Delta Books, 1968, Pp. 176-190.

62. "Females and Self-Defense" by Pat Galligan and Delphine Welch, No More Fun and Games, Issue 3, November, 1969, P. 111.

63. See the movie, "Miss America" available from Newsreel.

See also: "Do You Remember 'La Pasionaria'? Meet the Women of the Revolution" by Peter Babcox, New York Time Magazine, February, 1969, P. 34.

See also: "Miss America and the Cult of the Girl" by Harvey Cox, Christianity and Crisis, August 7, 1961, P. 143-146.

64. "A Hare-raising Tale At Hef's Bunny Hatch" by Karen Hasman, Chicago Daily News, February 10, 1969.

See also: "Hefner Dealt A Jolt At Grinnell As 10 in Nude Protest", "Magazine", Chicago Daily News, February 6, 1969.

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See also: "Play Boys Doctrine of Male" by Harvey Cox, Christianity and Crisis, April 17, 1961, Pp. 56-58.

See also: Surrey Marshe, "The Girl in the Centerfold", New York: Delacorte Press, 1969.

65. "Confront the Whore Makers", a flier put out by W.I.T.C.H., 1969, P. O. Box 694, Peter Styvesant Station, New York, New York 10009.

66. "Clothes and Women's Liberation" by Nancy Hower, Notes On Women's Liberation, 1970, Pp. 44-45 (Detroit).

67. "Bra-less Trend Gains Support Here" by Jim Kluss, Chicago Daily News, August 26, 1969.

68. "They Won't Slack Off in this Fight" by Paul McGrath, Chicago Sun-Times, January 21, 1970.

69. "More Slain Girls", No More Fun and Games, Issue 3, November, 1969, P. 110.

70. "Effects of Population Growth On Natural Resources and the Environment", Hearings before a subcommittee on the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 1st Session, September 15 and 16, 1969.

71. "Population Policy for Americans: Is the Government Being Misled?" by Judith Blake, Science, May, 1969, P. 528.

See also: "The New Embryology" by Robert Francoeur, The Critic, November-December, 1969, especially P. 41. Also statements by Women's Caucus, Farians, Heide, Congress on Optimum Population, Chicago, June '70.

72. "The Other American Dilemma: Sexual Apartheid - Women Separate But Not So Equal" by Violette Lindbeck, part of a report on the Recruiting, Training, and Employment of Women Church Professional Church Workers, Church Women United, February 26 and 27, 1969, Seabury House, Greenwich, Connecticut.

73. "Humaness and the Sexes" by Sylvia Tucker, Adult Leadership, May, 1969, especially P. 17.

Consider also: The hippie movement which many writers see as a trend toward acceptance of "female" characteristics as valuable. Also many big businesses send their male executives to special 'sensitivity training' courses.

74. Charles Ferguson, The Male Attitude, Chapter V. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 36

75. Calvin Hernton, Sex and Racism In America. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

Notes (Continued)

76. "Sees 'Cluster' Families", National Catholic Reporter, November 19, 1969. Report of Margaret Mead.

See also: "Functions of the Family" by Linda Gorden, Women: A Journal of Liberation, Winter, 1970, Pp. 20-23.

See also: "Toward A Female Liberation Movement" by Beverly Jones, New Feminist Bookstore, Chicago.

See also: Roxanne Dunbar, "Female Liberation As the Basis for Social Revolution", New England Free Press.

See also: Abel Jeanniere, The Anthropology of Sex, New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

See also: Edwin Schur, The Family and Sexual Revolution, Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1964.

See also: Frederick Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, New York: New World Paperback, 1967 (originally published in 1884).

See also: Marian Basset, A New Sex Ethic and Marriage Structure, New York: Philosophical Library, 1961.

77. "Up From Ridicule" by Marlene Dixon, available from the Chicago Women's Liberation Union.

78. After the initial thrust of the first feminist movement women began to fall backward, a trend which is still noticeable. For example, there are proportionately fewer women in higher education than in 1920, fewer women physicians etc. There are two general reasons put forward for this: (1) Women thought they had the battle won when they got the vote and they were so exhausted after that tremendous struggle that they settled down to enjoy their new found privilege, or (2) a view increasingly proposed by more radical women, women serve in a reserve labor force in a capitalistic system which manipulates them at will.

Confer: Seminar sponsored by Advanced Management Research Corporation of New York on "Managing and Motivating Female Employees" held at the Chicago Hilton on March 5, 1970.

Recently there has been a decided tendency on the part of women's colleges to employ male administrators in top positions. See the New York Times, August 24, 1969, Education Section: "Is the College Presidency More and More A Man's World?" by Fred Hechinger.

See also: "Women's Job and Pay Gaps Widening" by Lynn Langway, Chicago Daily News, February 13, 1970.

Notes (Continued)

79. Naomi Weisstein, "Woman As Nigger", Psychology Today, October, 1969, Pp. 20-22.

See also: Mary Ellman, Thinking About Women, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968.

80. Innumerable writers are calling for programs on woman studies and continuing education. They point out that women have been either neglected or distorted in the ordinary college curriculum. A whole issue of College University Business, February, 1970, was devoted to this.

The University of Chicago's curriculum was hexed by W.I.T.C.H. on February 18, 1970. As reported in Women's Liberation Newsletter, March, 1970, the hex points out the problem:

> "To defend our sisters against your power we witches meet at this hexing hour. You tell us we're passive, submissive, sublime. To make us in your image, you control our mind. Knowledge is power, through which you control our life, our spirit, our mind and soul. Your great books deny us all of our history. Our past, our heroines, are shrouded in mystery".

Scholars are predicting that the largest group to be served by colleges in the future will be women. Women will demand college education in increasing numbers both on the graduate and undergraduate levels. There also will be an increase in the number of women returning to college after their families are reared.

Confer: "Women Will Pack U. S. Colleges", Cincinnati Post & Times Star, April 15, 1970.

At this writing, courses and programs are being started at: Drew University, San Diego State College, Bryn Mawr, Mundelein College, Loyola University, Roosevelt University, American University, DePaul University, Cornell University, Harvard University, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Alverno College, Chapel Hill, St. Catherine, University of Kansas at Lawrence, Boston Theological Institute, Princeton University, Douglass College, University of Southern California at Irvine, Columbia University. Wesleyan University, Kendall College, YWCA Community College.

See also: For information on continuing education, Continuing Education Programs and Services for Women, U. S. Department of Labor, Pamphlet No. 10, revised, January, 1968.

Notes (Continued)

See also: A women's liberation poster says:

"Our history has been stolen from us.
Our heroes died in childbirth from peritonitis, overwork,
oppression, from bottled-up rage.
Our geniuses were never taught to read or write.
We must invent a post adequate to our ambition.
We must create a future adequate to our needs."

Women: A Journal of Liberation, Spring, 1970, back cover.

See also: Hampshire College, a new experimental college, has at least recognized the problem to the extent of commissioning Barbara Currier to write a report on the problem: "Special Approaches to Women's Education: A Model, Co-educational Plan", 1970.

As an indication of the complexity of the problem see: "Women in the University of Chicago, Report of the Committee on University Women", May 1, 1970. This report was prepared for the Committee of the Council of the University Senate, Univeristy of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

ADDENDUM I

A list of suggested course titles:

The Modern American Woman: Her Changing Role and Status

The New Woman: A Course Designed for Mothers and Daughters

Introduction to Women's Liberation (several sections)

The Liberation of Men

The History (Herstory) of Women

History of the Women's Suffrage Movement

Feminism in America

Famous Women and Their Contribution to Society

Women in Contemporary Culture

Women in Comparative Culture

Woman and Social Change

The Origin of Sex Roles

The Socialization of Woman

Sex Role Stereotyping in Education

Sexism and Racism In America

The Black Woman in America

Women in Minority Groups

Women In Politics

Women and the Political System

Women and the Communications Media

Women and Consumerism

Motivation and Counseling of Women

The Single Woman and Alternate Life Styles

Sex Differences: Psychological and Physiological

Communal Living: Familial and Other Institutions

Women's Liberation and New Social Structures

The Structure of the City and the Liberation of Women

Female Sexuality

Economic Systems and Women's Liberation

Women in the Labor Force

Women and the Law

The Woman Criminal

Women and Civil Rights

Social Services and the Problems of Women

Women in Poverty

Sisterhood

Anti-feminism in Western Thought

Woman in Judeao-Christian Religious Thought

Feminist Theology

Women in Primitive and Eastern Religions

Women and Ministry

Religious Women

Ethics and Women's Liberation

The Alienation and Reconciliation of Man and Woman

Women in the Professions

Women Writers

Women in Literature

The Literature of Women's Liberation

Language and Women's Liberation

The Art of Women (Music, Dance, Painting, Sculpture, Handcraft, Needlework

The Image of Woman in the Arts

Women and Ecology

Woman and Her Body Image

Self Defense for Women

Special Health Problems for Women

Child Birth

Biological and Medical Sex Research

Psychiatric Implications of the New Feminism

Costumes and the Liberation of Women

The Artform and Witchcraft As An Expression of Liberation

ADDENDUM II

Guidelines and Minimum Requirements for the Establishment of the Institute

A. Guidelines

1. The Institute must be on a solid academic basis.

2. The Institute must be autonomous and independent enough to be able to accomplish its goal without interference from outside groups.

3. The Institute must always have as its major purpose the improvement of the status and condition of women.

4. The Director of the Institute must be a capable woman scholar and administrator who thoroughly understands and is an activist in the women's movement.

5. The Faculty and Staff of the Institute must also be academically qualified as well as practically qualified.

6. The University must be committed to the Institute. This means the University must exhibit good will and cooperation by making faculty available for special lectures, allocating space and equipment and giving minimum support for at least a first three-year period.

7. At the university **or college** it might be tentatively suggested that the Institute be affiliated to the College of Community Services and the College of Arts and Sciences.

8. It might be advisable to start the program in a minimal way, on a small scale so that its growth can be organic and carefully planned.

9. The main objectives of the first year would be to get the two divisions "off the ground", develop plans for future growth and expansion (including financial, with the help of University experts for there can be little doubt that as the awareness of this problem grows, monies will become available earmarked especially for this type program), develop university and community support for the program and development of a representative committee including women students to help plan policy, etc.

10. To launch the Institute it might be reasonably expected that there be:.

    (a) One section for each of two quarters of the course, "Introduction to Women's Liberation". This would be coordinated by the Director of the Institute with the aid of outside lecturers secured from other departments in the University, other nearby universities and the local community.

Addendum II Continued)

(b) Two or three major lectures on women's liberation by nationally known women scholars or activists.

(c) One intersession, intensified course on women's liberation with several nationally known women scholars and activists.

(d) The initiation of one or two of the action oriented projects listed on Page 20, preferably in a small, experimental way.

(e) The initial development of plans for research.

(f) Securing of library materials.

(g) Development of a pilot seminar for women in continuing education.

(h) Development of initial counseling services for continuing education.

(i) Development of a faculty, administrative and community committee on the matriculation of the mature women in continuing education.

11. During the second and succeeding years it would be hoped that the two divisions would be expanded. The course offerings could be increased by bringing in one nationally known visiting lecturer each semester and adding one full time faculty member while building up a list of expert University faculty for special courses. The continuing education division would be expanded by the addition of a full time woman as assistant director for the Institute and whose primary responsibility would be in continuing education.

B. Minimum requirements for the above (excluding No. 11) would include:

1. A director - responsible for the entire Institute

2. Personnel responsible mainly for the continuing education division. At this time three skills are especially needed in this area and these could be met in a variety of ways such as one full time person or perhaps better, for more flexibility and variety, three part time experts. The skills are:

   (a) Competency in the administration of higher education

   (b) Competency in group work skills

   (c) Competency in counseling

3. A full-time secretary

4. Office space and equipment

Addendum II Continued)

5. Estimated funds for the first year: *

(a)	Salaries of above staff	$45,000
(b)	Stipends for special lecturers	10,000
(c)	Library	1,000
(d)	Production of literature	1,000
(e)	Travel and promotion	3,000
(f)	Operating expenses	5,000
		$65.000

* This budget does not include equipment.

C. Other Considerations

1. In general the courses listed here emphasize women and the problems of women. This is because traditional courses have been male oriented and/or have overlooked many of the ideas treated here. These courses are not anti-male; the basic philosophy is that humanity is male and female. At this time in this program the courses focus on women so that women can develop into full personhood.
2. Courses should be spread over the entire university: upper division and lower division, undergraduate and graduate, credit and non-credit, day and night, short term and long term.
3. As the women's studies program progresses concentrations can develop in degree work.
4. In order to diffuse feminist ideals in the entire university it is necessary to have a strong, central women's studies department as a focal point. Feminists must set policy and standards as well as make appointments. A watered-down program is worse than no program.

ADDENDUM III

Questions women are asking:

What is the vision for a better society? How will this affect women?
What role does religion play in the oppression of women?
What determines a women's class?
What are the ethics of power, dominance, submission and how are women related?
How were women's movements co-opted in the past?

Can women be free in a capitalistic society?
Should women become separatists?
Who do women need the appreciation or approval of men at the personal level?
What is the relationship between the women's movement and other movements for liberation?
Can the nuclear family be reformed?

How does a woman deal with her oppression on a personal level?
How can the young girl caught in the "disadvantaged circle" be helped to have a personal self-image?
How much of the problem of women on welfare is because of being women rather than because of being poor (financially)?
What is the nature of prejudice and how does it affect women?
What is the correlation between the nuclear family and other social structures?

How does power and privilege distribution in the larger society reflect the distribution of those same variables in the family?
Do women support or inhibit social change?
How do political and economic contingencies involve and alter women's participation in the labor force?
How is the cultural image of woman altered to correspond with her participation in the labor force?
Should women be taught how to masturbate?

Should women raise their children alone or give them up?
Can children be raised better in the extended family or in communes?
Should lesbianism be encouraged?
Is there a connection between racism and sexism?
How can men be liberated?
What is the relationship between social change and sexually defined spheres of activity?

ADDENDUM IV

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Background

As the evolving consciousness of mankind moves from adolescence toward adulthood, there is a developing awareness of human dignity, an awakening to individual personhood.

Caught up in this new vision, moderns will no longer tolerate the grouping or classification of people (and hence their restrictions) by such distinctions as race, sex, creed, national origin or color. Moderns tend to see the individual as individual. They are interested in the individual talent and capabilities, needs and rights, as the basis for human relationships.

There can be no doubt that the oppression and repression of women in our society is one of our most serious problems. Women are molded and shaped by law and custom into stereotyped roles that little regard their individuality, personal preference, talent or capability. The meaning and purpose of these traditional roles as well as the suitability for modern women is not questioned by our society. In fact, this is one of the basic assumptions left unchallenged by the academics and theorists of our society.

This restrictive patterning of women is all the more serious both because women are a majority group, not a minority group, of society and because it concerns men as well as women. Misunderstanding what it means to be a woman results in misunderstanding what it means to be a man. In misunderstanding women, we misunderstand the man-woman relationship and what it means to be a human being. Thus the stultifying role imposed on women affects every person at his or her deepest level of existence. Also, society is impaired as the talents and gifts of half the population are largely left undeveloped or underdeveloped.

Besides this loss in human resources there is a resultant massive frustration in women. This often limits their effectiveness in even the traditional roles and sometimes causes narrow and impoverished traits in women. It must be pointed out that in American society this frustration is fast verging on an explosive rage. In realizing their situation, women are beginning to demand that changes be made.

Change in the status of women is part of this wide-scale quest for freedom and the growing consciousness of personal identity. It is part, perhaps even the basis, of the movement of liberation of all peoples and the advance toward human dignity, social justice and civil rights.

Coupled with this new social awareness as cause of the changing role of women is technology. The advance of the health sciences and labor-saving devices have proven to be a boon to women. Now women have many years after their child-bearing age, physical strength is not as important as it once was, and an increase in population is no longer necessary. In fact: the reverse is true and the woman's role must be re-defined in new terms. We are beginning to witness the change in the position of women in our society.

The demand for a new role for women is one of the most fundamental needs of our society. Not only is the movement for women's liberation spreading rapidly, but it is growing in depth and complexity. It is a serious movement which has raised many social questions and threatens to make obsolete many structures of our society. We have yet to realize its total meaning for the future.

It is essential to have scholarly study and research form a solid base in this crucial area. Rigorous thought and creative leadership are needed.

The university can provide the necessary facilities and faculties. Besides there is a growing demand by women for courses which reflect their need to redefine themselves in contemporary society.

Women's liberation requires investigation by the university. The problem is difficult and enormous. The university must meet the needs of our times; it must serve the community. The oppression of women in our society must be dealt with and solutions must be found. Education is the key to social change. One of the ways the university might begin to exercise its responsibilities in the area of the changing role of women in society is to offer an appropriate course of studies.

A Course Proposal

THE MODERN AMERICAN WOMAN: HER CHANGING ROLE AND STATUS is one proposed introductory course for a women's studies program. It is interdisciplinary and can be followed by other in-depth courses or it can stand alone for the woman who wants just an introduction. The course will examine many facets of the problem from various theories about the nature of woman, its implications and consequences for the larger social order to her behavior and potential in light of her status and history.

This course will explore the vast field of knowledge pertaining to women and lay the groundwork for further research and study.

Men, of course, may enroll.

Description

THE MODERN AMERICAN WOMAN: HER CHANGING ROLE AND STATUS. An interdisciplinary course designed for women of all ages. The course will analyze the restrictive patterning of women in modern society, the resulting social problems and solutions for the future.

Outline

THE MODERN AMERICAN WOMAN: HER CHANGING ROLE AND STATUS. An interdisciplinary course designed for women of all ages.

1. Woman: The several theories of her nature and the philosophical implications.
2. The role and status of women in the United States.
3. The image of woman in contemporary society: art, literature, media.
4. The female personality: sex role socialization.
5. Women and religion: the oppression of patriarchy.
6. The legal rights of women.
7. The employment of women.
8. The man/woman relationship.
9. The various ages of women: physiological and psychological.
10. The many colors of women: crosscultural comparisons.
11. Sexism and racism.
12. Feminism and social change.
13. Women and ecology.
14. Men's liberation.
15. The struggle for freedom by women: an historical overview.
16. The politics of women's liberation: ideology, factions, organization.
17. The contribution of women to society.
18. The new woman: awareness and self-actualization.

A Course Proposal

THE NEW WOMAN is a course in feminism designed for mothers and daughters. It will examine the changing role of woman in our society, helping the mother to define her role for the future when her children are grown and helping the daughter to prepare herself for a wider role in society.

It is suggested that there be an opening course to meet the needs of the community. It should be followed by a continuing program with such credit courses in the day and night school as:

"The Body Image of Women" dealing with how women view themselves and how this affects their body; also dealing with the various bodily aspects of a woman's life: menstruation, menopause, childbirth, aging, physical strength, diseases of women, sexual intercourse, orgasm, contraception, abortion, etc.

"Women's Liberation - An Introduction"

Description

THE NEW WOMAN. A study in feminism designed for mothers and daughters--an eight-week, non-credit, night school, team-taught course.

Outline

THE NEW WOMAN

1. Female, Femininity, and Feminism
2. Sex-Role Socializing: The Female Personality
3. Marriage and Career
4. The Status of Women in Society
5. The Women's Liberation Movement
6. The Man/Woman Relationship
7. Future Plans: For the Mother; For the Daughter
8. The New Woman: Self Awareness and Self Actualization

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A Course Proposal

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN EDUCATION is a special course for the School of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations.

There can be little doubt that restrictive sex role stereotyping is one of the most pressing problems in our society. It has resulted in the serious oppression of women and now even men are beginning to realize that rigid, artificial classifications of certain characteristics as masculine or feminine tends to truncate their authentic human development. Men and women are molded and shaped by law and custom into stereotyped roles which are reinforced by our educational system, and which little regard their individuality, personal preference, talent or capacity. This narrow patterning of the sexes makes the man/woman relationship one of tension and results in a polarization of the sexes. Because of this narrow view we misunderstand what it means to be a woman or a man and also what it means to be human.

Although both men and women have been hurt by sex role stereotyping, women have gotten the worst end of it. And their situation is not improving. In fact, it is getting worse as many recent studies show. (See especially Bird: Born Female.) Since the university should foster optimum human development through its instruction and research, it is imperative that the university begin to deal with this social problem. How sex role stereotyping is reinforced in education should be analyzed and evaluated in the university and the results made available to students in the School of Education.

Description

SEXROLE STEREOTYPING IN EDUCATION. Consideration of the socialization of the sexes through education; the restrictiveness of stereotyping and its harmful effects on children and on the educational profession.

Outline

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN EDUCATION. A special course for the School of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations.

1. Sex Role Stereotyping

   Its meaning

   Cause - various theories - male mystique and feminine mystique - myth or reality?

   Effect - underutilization of talent, oppression of women, tensions in man/woman relationships

   Solutions - movements for men's and women's liberation

2. Sex Role Stereotyping and the Educational Profession

   Conditions in the profession resulting from sexrole stereotyping

   Situation of women in the profession

   Solutions - Women's caucuses, affirmative action

3. Sex Role Stereotyping and the Education of Children

   Sex-segregated education

   Textbook images

   Models

   Counselling

   Solutions

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